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BUNYAN'S *HOLY WAR* AND THE CONFLICT-TYPE OF MORALITY PLAY

Despite Lord Macaulay's well-known dictum,—“if the *Pilgrim's Progress* did not exist, the [*Holy War*] would be the best allegory that ever was written”—the later allegory has been almost completely overshadowed by the earlier. The reason is not far to seek. Christian, Faithful, Mr. Worldly-Wiseman are living, breathing human beings, while “the human actors in the *Holy War*,” in the words of James Anthony Froude, “are parts of men—special virtues, special vices: allegories in fact as well as in name, which all Bunyan's genius can only occasionally substantiate into persons.” The story of the *Progress* is, moreover, much more varied than that of the *Holy War*. The account of a pilgrimage beset with countless difficulties and dangers is less likely to grow monotonous than the recounting of sieges, marchings, and counter-marchings.

The *Holy War* has been characterized as “a people's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in one.”¹ But is Bunyan allegorizing the epic of man's fall and redemption? A careful study of the allegory has convinced me that while he may have had this purpose at the outset he has not adhered to it. The wresting of Mansoul by Emmanuel after the town's defection to Diabolus marks but the half-way point of the story. Throughout nine more chapters of the entire eighteen Bunyan continues to picture the contest between the devils in hell, aided by the Diabolonians still lurking in Mansoul, and the inhabitants of Mansoul aided by Emmanuel. The theme, then, is not so much the epic of man's fall and redemp-

¹ James Anthony Froude, *Life of Bunyan* [English Men of Letters], p. 95.

tion as the conflict between good and evil for possession of man's soul; in other words, the theme of a typical Morality play rather than that of Milton's two great epics in one.

The development of the conflict-theme has been interestingly traced by Professor Ramsay in the Introduction to his edition of Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, xcvi), of which the following is a condensation. The conflict appears in its simplest form in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius as separate combats, purely physical in character, between pairs of corresponding virtues and vices. In each duel the virtue is victorious. A decided step toward greater unity was taken when the several combats were merged into one. This stage of the development is seen in the moral-play *Hickscorner* (1497-1512), though, it should be added, the conflict in this play is both physical and spiritual. As yet, the conflict was for supremacy. A very distinct advance was achieved by the introduction of a neutral character, a central hero, impersonating Man. And now the conflict has as its goal the supremacy over man's soul; it ceases to be presented under the symbolism of an actual combat, but assumes the form of a literal temptation, in which the several characters, both virtues and vices, are active agents.

The normal plot, viewed from the point of view of the hero, falls into four stages: (1) State of Innocence; (2) Temptation; (3) Life-in-Sin; (4) Repentance.² By simply repeating the process—having the hero fall a second time a victim to temptation—the playwright could easily prolong the plot to seven stages: (1) Innocence; (2) Temptation; (3) Life-in-Sin; (4) Repentance; (5) Temptation; (6) Life-in-Sin; (7) Repentance. The *Castle of Perseverance* illustrates such an expansion. *Humanum Genus*, it will be remembered, yielding to the solicitations of his Bad Angel, surrenders to the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. He becomes penitent, and is taken to the Castle of Perseverance. Again he succumbs to temptation—this time to Covetousness, but at the summons of Death is again repentant.

That the plot of the *Holy War* exhibits this same seven-stage form of the old Moralities is evident from the following brief synopsis:

² So designated by Ramsay.

STAGE I: STATE OF INNOCENCE

The "fair and delicate" town of Mansoul, situated in the "gallant country of Universe," was, when first built, so goodly that "the gods" came down to see it, and sang for joy. . . . "There was not a rascal, rogue, or traitorous person then within its walls. They were all true men, and fast joined together."

STAGE II: TEMPTATION

Certain Diabolonians, who have been banished from the court of King Shaddai, in an effort to be avenged plot how they may best win to themselves this famous town of Mansoul." It is agreed in the Council of Devils that Diabolus shall assume the form of a dragon, and through lying words persuade Mansoul to rebel against Shaddai. Accompanied by Ill-Pause, "his orator in all difficult matters," Diabolus proceeds close up to Eargate and there sounds his trumpet for an audience. The summons is answered by the chief men of the town—My Lord Innocent, My Lord Will-be-Will, My Lord Understanding (the Mayor), Mr. Conscience (the Recorder), and Captain Resistance. Diabolus, "as if he had been a lamb," seeks to persuade them that they are living in a state of abject slavery. While Diabolus is in the midst of his speech, Captain Resistance is shot from ambush and "to the amazement of the townsmen and the encouragement of Diabolus, fell down dead quite over the wall." Left naked of courage and of any power to resist, Mansoul hearkens to the subtle speech of the enemy, every word of which Ill-Pause assures them "carries with it self-evidence in its bowels." Both Eargate and Eyegate are opened and Diabolus, with all his band, admitted.

STAGE III: LIFE-IN-SIN

Diabolus, unanimously chosen king of Mansoul, immediately sets about remodeling the town. My Lord Mayor, Mr. Understanding, and the Recorder, Mr. Conscience, are succeeded, respectively, by Lord Lustings and Forget-Good. My Lord Will-be-Will makes such a complete surrender to Diabolus that he is in turn appointed "Captain of the Castle, Governor of the Wall, and keeper of the gates of Mansoul." The image of Shaddai is pulled down from

the gates and the market-place and that of Diabolus set up in its stead. In all public places are posted the edicts of Diabolus giving full "liberty to the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eyes, and the pride of life." Three strongholds are erected: the Hold of Defiance, in charge of one Spitegod; Midnight-hold, in charge of Love-no-Light; Sweet-Sin-Hold, in charge of Love-flesh, a fellow who "could find more sweetness when he stood sucking of a lust, than he did in all the paradise of God." Thus fortified, the Mansoulians refuse to open the gates to the army of 40,000 of Emmanuel's forces led by Captains Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution. Reinforcements led by Emmanuel in person having arrived, plans are laid to assault the town.

STAGE IV: REPENTANCE

Diabolus, who had taken refuge in the Castle of Heart, is captured, put in chains, and bound to Emmanuel's chariot wheels. Old Mr. Recorder Conscience, My Lord Understanding, and My Lord Will-be-Will are all three thrown in prison. Deeply humble and penitent, they are at last graciously pardoned by Prince Emmanuel and authorized to announce a general pardon to all the natives of Mansoul. A new officer, Mr. God's-Peace, is placed in charge of the town. All the men, women, and children in Mansoul now followed their business joyfully. There was nothing "to be found but harmony, quietness, joy, and health. And this lasted all that summer."

STAGE V: TEMPTATION

A certain "tattling Diabolonian gentleman" named Carnal-Security is instrumental in effecting the second revolt of Mansoul. He began to tickle the ears of his fellow-townsmen with such wonderful stories of their strength and greatness that even My Lord Mayor, My Lord Will-be-Will, and Mr. Recorder were greatly taken with his words. The hearts of the men of Mansoul became so chilled toward Emmanuel that he withdrew from the town. Mr. God's-Peace also laid down his commission, refusing to serve longer.

STAGE VI: LIFE-IN-SIN

Mansoul was now in sorry plight. The streets were filled with fainting, languishing men. Encouraged by the departure of the Prince, the old Diabolonians began crawling from their hiding-

places, among them the Lord Fornication, the Lord Adultery, the Lord Murder, the Lord Anger, the Lord Lasciviousness, the Lord Deceit, the Lord Evil-Eye, the Lord Blasphemy, and "that horrible villain the old and dangerous Lord Covetousness." These "lords of looseness" not only agree among themselves to entrap the natives of Mansoul, but dispatch a letter to their master Diabolus promising to make the town as vile as possible and suggesting the advisability of his sending an army of Doubters to attack the town from without. The proposal, after being discussed by Lucifer, Beelzebub, Apollyon, Legion, and Diabolus, is finally approved.

STAGE VII: REPENTANCE

The plot of the Diabolonians is discovered by Mr. Prywell, who sounds the alarm. Lords Covetousness and Lasciviousness, posing as Prudent-thrifty and Harmless-mirth, are detected and clapped in jail, where they soon die of a consumption. In the meantime Diabolus's army of 20,000 Doubters, with Mr. Incredulity as lord-general and Lords Beelzebub, Lucifer, Legion, Apollyon, Python, Cerberus, and Belial as superior officers, makes an assault upon Eargate. The inhabitants of Mansoul, inspired to heroic efforts by the example of Lord Will-be-Will and Mr. Mind, offer stout resistance. Diabolus at length succeeds in effecting an entrance through Feel-gate, but is unable to take the Castle of Heart. On the third day his army is routed by Captain Credence, whose forces have been augmented by those of Prince Emmanuel. Only the principal leaders escape. The Diabolonians lurking in Mansoul are captured and put to death, all but Mr. Unbelief, "a nimble Jack," whom they could never lay hold of though they tried it often.

"And now did Mansoul arrive to some degree of peace and quiet, her Prince also did abide within her borders, her captains also and her soldiers, did their duties and Mansoul minded her trade that she had with the country that was far off; also she was busy in her manufacture."

A study of the characters of the *Holy War* also reveals some interesting parallels with the Morality plays. Professor Ramsay's ideal scheme of characters of a typical Morality play is as follows:

I. Neutral: Mankind.

II. Representatives of Good.

- (a) Virtues proper: Meekness, Patience, Charity, Chastity, Abstinence, Occupation, Liberality.
- (b) Good Powers: The Trinity.
- (c) Agents of good: The Good Angel; Graces such as Penitence, Confession, Mercy.

III. Representatives of Evil.

- (a) Vices proper: Pride, Wrath, and Envy (commonly attached to the Devil); Lust, Gluttony, and Sloth (commonly attached to the Flesh); Avarice (attached to the World).
- (b) Evil powers: Devil, Flesh, World.
- (c) Agents of Evil: The Bad Angel, other devils, vices.
- (d) Evil types: The Taverner and others.

The *Holy War* has no central hero. Bunyan's marginal gloss for the phrase *the natives of Mansoul* is *Powers of the Soul*, from which it would seem that the native inhabitants of Mansoul are to be considered as representing Man. In reality, the great majority of these are mere names; they take no part in the story either as Tempters or Tempted. The characters who constitute the storm-centre of the conflict are (1) Mr. Recorder Conscience, (2) The Lord Mayor—Understanding, (3) Lord Will-be-Will, (4) Mr. Mind, Will-be-Will's Clerk. It is they who answered the first summons of Diabolus to a parley. After the occupation of Mansoul by Diabolus Conscience became so debauched that he was no longer capable of recognizing sin; Understanding so darkened that he "became as one born blind"; Will-be-Will such a loyal advocate of Diabolus that he was placed next to his master in power; while Mind and he were "in principle one and in practice not far asunder." When Prince Emmanuel succeeds in capturing Mansoul, it is Understanding, Will, and Conscience who are brought before Him as prisoners and through whom a general pardon is issued to the whole population. In the second defection of Mansoul these same characters play important rôles. The representation of the neutral characters not through a central figure as *Humanum Genus* or Everyman, but through one or more personified powers of the soul is found in several of the *Moralities*.³ In the *Morality*

³ Professor Mackenzie places in this group no fewer than five plays. See the *English Moralities*, pp. 23, 149 ff., Harvard Studies, Vol. III.

play *Wisdom*, for example, the neutral group is represented by Anima, the Five Wits, and the three powers of the Soul-Mind, Will, and Understanding.

Compared with the characters in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the characters in the *Holy War* approach far more nearly personified abstractions, yet none of them can be justly classified as "Virtues proper" or "Vices proper." The powers of good and of evil, respectively, are fully represented; the first by the Trinity—Shaddai, Emmanuel, the Lord Secretary; the latter by a surprising array—Diabolus, Alecto, Apollyon, Beelzebub, Lucifer, and Legion. By far the larger number of the 200 and more names appearing in the *Holy War* are included under the agents of good and evil, these agents in each case being composed of persons both from within and from without Mansoul. Our scheme of characters would, accordingly, be as follows:

I. The Tempted: Conscience, Understanding, Will-be-Will, Mind (Possibly, Knowledge).

II. Representatives of Good.

A. Virtues proper: none.

B. Powers of good: The Trinity—Shaddai, Emmanuel, the Lord Secretary.

C. Agents of good.

(1) From Within Mansoul: Mr. Trueman, Mr. Upright, Mr. Desires-Awake, Mr. Godly-Fear, and many others.

(2) From Without Mansoul: Captains Conviction, Judgment, Execution, Credence, Goodhope, Charity, Patience, and many others.

III. Representatives of Evil.

A. Vices Proper: none.

B. Powers of Evil: Diabolus, Alecto, Apollyon, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Legion.

C. Agents of Evil

(1) From Within Mansoul: Lord Lustings, Mr. Forget-good, Lord Fornication, Lord Covetousness, Mr. Wrath, Mr. Mischief, and many others.

- (2) From Without Mansoul: Captain Rage, Captain Fury, Mr. Ill-Pause, Tisiphone, and others.

Whatever influence the Moralities may have exercised upon Bunyan was in all probability transmitted through some of the pre-Bunyan allegories. Anything connected with the stage, however moral in its purpose, he would have considered as emanating from Diabolus himself. An allegory which contains traces of the Moralities and at the same time foreshadows the *Holy War* is John Alcock's *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, a work belonging to the latter part of the fifteenth century. An even more probable channel of transmission, however, is an anonymous work published in London in 1672, just ten years before the publication of the *Holy War*. It is entitled *The Soul's Warfare, Comically digested into Scenes Acted between the Soul and her Enemies Wherein She Cometh off Victrix*. Empirea, the Soul, is tempted by the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, but aided by Faith, Hope, and Charity, eventually succeeds in withstanding them. The Allegory might well serve as a connecting link between the moral plays and the *Holy War*.

After this paper had virtually been written, I ran upon the following passage in Henry Medwall's *Nature* (1486-1500) which outlines so clearly a *Holy War* as to strengthen my belief that there is a real connection between Bunyan's Allegory and the old moralities (Reason is speaking) :

"I assemble the life of mortal creature
To the assiege again a strong town or castle;
In which there is much busy endeavor;
Much worldly policy; with diligent travail,
On every side, which part shall prevail
By sleight of engines, or by strong power,
That other to subdue and bring into danger.
In such case and manner of condition
Is wretched man, here in this life earthly,
While he abideth within the garrison
Of the frail carcase and caronous body:
Whom to impugn laboreth incessantly
The World, the flesh, the enemy—these three—
Him to subdue and bring into captivity.

And certes; these, our said enemies,
Be of their nature so mighty and so strong

That hard it will be for us in any wise,
 Again them war or battle to underfong;
 Also our garrisons and fortress to maintain long
 Again their engines; without spiritual grace
 We can not perform in no manner case.

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NOTES ON DRAMATIC NOMENCLATURE IN GERMANY (1500-1700)

In our days when all dramas except operas and musical comedies are just plays, it is interesting to remember the painstaking attempts of former centuries to distinguish in the drama a multitude of minor types. When the classical formulas had been reintroduced by the Renaissance there were, of course, tragedy and comedy and soon also tragi-comedy, but before the ancient classifications had been universally accepted, and even for quite a time afterwards, certain terms were used of which the meaning is not often clear. Besides, even when tragedy, comedy and tragi-comedy covered nearly the whole of the dramatic field, a number of subspecies sprang up, developed and often disappeared without leaving more than the vaguest trace, perhaps not even a name, in the critical literature of the time. Or else there would be phantom species like the satyric drama which, long since disembodied, haunted modern poetics for centuries.

The following notes, jotted down in the course of a study on German dramaturgy, whilst disclaiming any attempt at completeness, may yet be found of some interest and may draw attention to certain problems of dramatic nomenclature which might repay a more exhaustive treatment.

A rapid glance into three successive centuries will serve to illustrate the changing outline and arrangement of the dramatic "map." Jodocus Badius, the printer and humanist, whose views, expressed in the *Prenotamenta* to his edition of Terence (1502, probably also 1500), may be taken as typical of the closing fifteenth century, counted amongst the species of the drama, "Omnes tragedie: omnes comedie: omnes mimi quedam egloge. Quidam dialogi & omnia in quibus autor non loquitur, sed solummodo persone per ipsum introducte." Distinguished by a keen sense of